# Reconstructed Jerusalem through Multi-Methodological Approaches

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**Abstract**

The article addresses the issue of modelling City Jerusalem in different stages of her continuation in space and time. Investigates social, cultural, and international aspects of the city through written sources and archaeological remains.

**Keywords:** Eternal, cosmopolitan, transformation in space and time, Second Jerusalem

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"Thus says the Lord GOD: This is Jerusalem. I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries all around her.  And she has rebelled against my rules by doing wickedness more than the nations…" (*Ezekiel* 5:5-6).

In my very early insight, Jerusalem was the city distinguished by her peculiar charm, mysticism and contrasts.  From the modern point of view, I consider that Jerusalem represents the pattern of eternal and cosmopolitan city as well as the one of future, idealized world, where the word of God is to come out from, and wherefrom the Lord "will judge between the nations and …they will not take up sword against nation, and nor will the train for war anymore" (*Isaiah* 2:3-4), where the peoples and the kingdoms assemble to worship the Lord (*Psalms* 101 (102): 22-23).

In case of Jerusalem, I am interested in what designations do determine the eternal and cosmopolitan nature of her, and if there are any, then the candidacy of Jerusalem for being granted the status of eternal and cosmopolitan city is absolutely reasonable and justified. We will concern these issues below. There have been written numerous of interesting researches on Jerusalem and there are to be written even more, although my interest is in perceiving and modelling of Jerusalem so as to enable determination of its status as of an eternal city, in the process of which the nature of its cosmopolitan society will be identified.

In general, concept of eternal cities signifies the group of some cities that were regarded and perceived by their contemporary societies as significant cultural centers, in which the achievements of peripheral cultures were being accumulated and elements of local social practice were being identified.  I believe that the phenomenon of eternity of the city is connected with continuation of the city (temporal dimension) and her territorial-spatial condition. Studying of Jerusalem within this mode represents the modelling of more comprehensive processes rather than interpreting the static facts or one-time events only. Therefore, this process cannot be restricted by traditional historical chronology.

### "Continuation" and Semantics of Jerusalem

"Continuation" in historical discipline is tightly connected with periodization and chronology. The continuation in time makes emphasis on some historical phases and their changing. Ordinarily, it is known that periodization is based on either archaeological culture (justified by archaeological data), theoretical discourse pertaining to the production regulation (Marxism Theory), or on studying the types of practices of society (ethno-archeological and anthropology studies). When referring to archaeological periodization, I do mean the acknowledged system, e.g. the Neolithic Age, the Bronze Age, or the Iron Age. Division into periods (or chronology) determined at the expense of the "production regulation" is under the shade of Marxism and is justified actually in case of feudalism, or economic system of capitalism, or macro-social-economic evaluations (this attitude is less effective with regard to the ancient history). The Marxism failed to create the universal theoretical regulation that would be applied and cover all historical times. E.g. stages of either Renaissance of Humanism cannot be entered this system, since formulation in a Marxist manner will result in an absurd notion such as– "feudal renaissance of the Iron Age". Renaissance or humanism are historical phases associated with the mental shifts that were being held in society and were reflected then on their social practice. Thus, we do believe that for studying the "continuity" of the society, we have to consider those mental shifts that are being conducted in consciousness of related society. The new mental shifts and innovative social practice may cause continuation-transition of historical phases that can be reflected directly on the process of "naming/titling" the city. By means of "continuation-transition of naming", I will attempt to realize the "phenomenon of continuation" of Jerusalem. Thus, I reviewed the naming of Jerusalem within the *longue durée* mode by F. Braudel. Applying of this attitude may result in viewing the process of interchange of some phases of the society of the city. We face the similar option in the event of the capital city of Georgia – Tbilisi ("ტფილისი" - Tiflis is an early version of Tbilisi), or to the extent of London (Londinium – Roman London).

The names of Jerusalem in modern Western languages are almost identical, Greek: Ιερουσαλήμ, English: Jerusalem, Russian: Иерусалим, Aram. Yerushalem ( Cheyne and  Sutherland Black 1903, p.2407.)  and only sounding of Arabian al-Quds (holy) is different.  The name of Jerusalem is originated from the Latin Vulgate and presumably it is the version, introduced based on an early Jewish Yĕrūshālēm.

The name of the city is Semitic. The initial syllable of the word in Assyrian, Syrian and Arabian is given as Ur-. Its early form is frequent in Egyptian Amarna Letters (circa 1400 BC), as either U-ru, Rušalim, or (U-ru)-sa-lim (Cheyne and Sutherland Black 1903, p. 2407-2408).   The King of Jerusalem Abdi-Heba refers to it as to -Urušalim under his letters. Some scholars believe that the Semitic root of the word S-L-M is related with the Canaanite mythology, in particular with the God Shalim, God of dusk (Albright Foxwell, 1994, p. 187).  The Akkadian word -šalām, šamši means sunset, while the word yeru in Sumerian is the definition for the "settlement". Its Semitic equivalent-yry' means foundation, establishment (Ben-Dov 2002, p.23). On the basis of the interpretation to that etymology, the name of the ancient city was Shelim (Shalem) and it was associated with the Semitic God (Albright Foxwell, 1994, p.187; Bottereck, Ringgren, Fabry2006, pp.45–6.). Therefore, the city founded in the Bronze Age, was named after the name of the supreme god of the pantheon. This is the name directly or indirectly related with cultural syntheses of Canaan. The Bible Books maintained the memory of an early name of Jerusalem - Salem (cf. meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek, King of Salem, *Gen*. 14:18). The first time when Jerusalem is referred to as the city-state is the Joshua (Chapter 10), per which that city is being united under the coalition of the Canaanite city-states against Israelites (Joshua the son of Nun condemned the King of Jerusalem Adonizedek to death).

On Assyrian monumental inscriptions of VIII century BC, the name of the city appears as Ur-sa-li-immu (Pritchard, 1969, pp.287-88). The inscription by Assyrian King Sennacherib, who was the one who besieged Jerusalem in 701 BC, refers to the city as to Ursalimu. This form of the name is anachronism for VIII century BC and presumably echoes the early form of it, since Jerusalem is the city of Jews already. To that extent the Jewish name is to prevail, the Mesopotamian society accepts its name as its initial version though. The second phase of naming, i.e. Jewish name, is associated with the Midrash version of it -Yerushalem or Yerushalayim and represents the combination of words -Yhwh yir'eh,  i.e. "The Lord will provide".  This name is associated with the site and the city, where Abraham sacrifices his son to God (*Genesis* 22:14). Corresponding to the Jewish tradition, Abraham is to sacrifice his son over Moriah Mount (*Genesis* 22:2), located within the space of Jerusalem.

In epigraphic documents, the inscription (Khirbet Beit Lei, in the vicinity of Beit Guvrin, dated VII century BC, or VI century BC) refers to Jerusalem in an interesting context: "I am Yahweh your God. I will accept the cities of Judah. I will redeem Jerusalem"(Naveh 2001, pp.194–207).According to that inscription, Jerusalem and other cities of Judah are under patronage of Yahweh and the God takes special care of Jerusalem. Supposedly, Jerusalem belongs to the other God and Yahweh takes care of it, and desires to bring this city under his patronage. Hostility and confrontation of Yahweh against other Gods is the mainstream of the Books of the Old Testament, however the idol dedicated to one god in the temple of Jerusalem, causes special concern and suspiciousness in the heart of Yahweh. Ezekiel mentions him by the term - Sēmel, which means an idol, resembling something. The referenced extract is read as follows: "…in visions of God he took me to Jerusalem, to the entrance of the north gate of the inner court, where the idol that provokes jealousy stood" (Ezek. 8:3-5). Yahweh feels peculiar jealousy of Shalem. He is the rival of Yahweh and "conqueror" of this city that is why jealousy of such sort is provoked in Yahweh. God Shalem was presumably the representative of the Baals category, and he was an anthropomorphic male God. As we are aware, at the end of VIII century BC, sacrifycing was being conducted in the temple of Jerusalem to the other gods (e.g. bronze sneak) too, but the referenced god was the cause of special "jealousy" and anger, since he was competing for the patronage of the city against Yahweh.

My modelling of the process of naming the city in the course of early historical phases, is as follows: this city (so called "first phase of Jerusalem", term is provisional E.A.) takes her name because of the Canaanite influences. She is "established" by god Shalem of Semitic origin and her name spreads over toponymy, or on the contrary, this space – considering toponymy, belongs to Shalem and his city is being built within that space. Chronologically the first phase is connected with circa XX BC. The settlement of Jerusalem of the Bronze Age was located over the hill.

When Yahweh "conquers" the city, he brings his people in, where the "second phase of Jerusalem" (term is provisional E.A.) starts from. Presumably, between XIII-XII centuries BC, the ancient population was still staying and residing inside the city and changing of toponymy, as well as forgetting of God Shalem failed. Therefore, at the second phase of naming, Urušalim gradually becomes Yerushalem (or Yerushalayim) and from Shalem city it is being converted in a progressive manner into the space being under "patronage" or "manifestation, demonstration" of Yahweh -Yhwh yir'eh.  It is worth mentioning that the root of the name of Semitic God S-L-M   and the one of the Jewish word "peace" is identical (Ringgren, 1979, p.212) Thus, the Jewish version will cover previous etymology gradually and it will be transformed into the "city of peace" (Douglas1987, pp.514-522).

As it was noted above, the new mental shifts and innovative social practice may cause the continuation-transition of historical phases that may reflect directly on the process of naming of either particular society or the city. The "second phase" of Jerusalem is preceded by one-time examples of appearance of such people within the mentioned space. As it seems, this process starts from appearance of Abraham and his household (XIX Century BC). Abraham has no special "enchainment" with the native town (Ur of the Chaldees, Haran). He can be deemed as the first cosmopolitan to some extent. At further stage, when his ancestry becomes densely populated and infiltrated into this space, it already reflects the process of naming the city (Gordon and Rendsburg 1997, p.138.) The mental shifts being conducted within this space can be connected with appearance of new universal God and social practice of new comers. The Books of the Old Testament also testify that the social practice of new comers does differ from the one of indigenous people.

Some chapters of the Old Testament are dedicated to different social practices of local population. God edifies his people all the time and teaches them to avoid the social practice of locals, and not to copy that one: - "shall ye not do…neither shall ye walk in their ordinances…" (For details see: *Leviticus* Chapter 18, and *Deuteronomy* chapter 12,) and stipulates the new standards and patterns of social practice. However, the fall into sin by God's chosen people follows the books of the Old Testament as the red line, along with the deviation from the standards, designated by God and the social practice arisen thereof.

Different social practices are being mixed, changed and shaped within the space of Jerusalem. We do consider that the city of Jerusalem had been granted the cosmopolitan status since the referenced theosophical conflict. If we review Jerusalem within the diachronic system, then it will be clear that she produces high conductivity within herself and positions in herself so-called Canaanite-Semitic and Jewish cultural-religious and social experiences. At various stages of existence, Jerusalem has been the model, characterized with linguistic, multilingual communications (we will concern the first stage of multilingual communications below). This city allows also the freedom of religious creed.  Jerusalem of Ezekiel period is typical cosmopolitan city from the point of religious liberty and manifestation. This pattern of polytheism was introduced in the time of Solomon. Coexistence with different practice of faith has become acceptable at political level since that time and proceeded at further stages in Christian and Muslim periods too. Further stages of naming of Jerusalem are connected with spreading of Christianity and Romanization.    Jerusalem has become the

world city from the local one and that is reflected on her name.  Philo of Alexandria (25 BC – 50 AD) contemporary to Jesus, calls the city Ιερόπολις, whereas the New Testament mentions her as Hierosoluma and Hierosolumon (Ιεροσολυμα *Mathew:* 2:1, 4:22). In Greek ἱερός signifies "sacred". Therefore, the city is identified with sanctity (Bosworth, 2007.pp. 225–226). Greek and Latin authors refer to her as to Ἱεροσόλυμα (Polyb. 163a) and Hierosolyma (*Pliny*, *NH* 5, 14).

In 70 AD, the Romans conquered the city in triumph. They destroyed thoroughly the local temple along with the city. Appearance of Romans in the city did not cause significant change of demographic situation; it conditioned radical reviewing of religious objectives though. Spreading of Roman religion was reflected on construction of cultic centers. The temple named after Capitolium was constructed in Jerusalem, whereas there was built the Zeus-Marna Temple in Gaza (one of the former cities of Palestinian Pentapolis).

Emperor Caligula (37-41) declared himself as the living God and erected his own idol in the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews had had to pray to that idol. The temple of Roman Capitolium was presumably located over the holy mount and was named after Roman Triad: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. There is a different opinion though, stating that the Temple was constructed in the city center – on forum (Grabar and Kedar, 2010, pp.58-59).   The city was restored by Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD) and received completely new name – Aelia Capitolina (complete Latin name is: COLONIA ÆLIA CAPITOLINA).   Aelia was the second name of Hadrian, indicating at his Roman clan, while Capitolina was apotheosizing the triad of Gods of Capitolium:  Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Jerusalem of Hadrian became typical Roman city. As per the Decree of the Emperor, construction of the temple named after Jupiter - Elius Capitolinus, was to be commenced on the site of Solomon Temple in Roman colony (Millar, 1993, pp.348-51). According to the decree released by Emperor, the Jews had had to leave Jerusalem and abandon their native city. The Roman veterans, settled in this colony, were becoming the reliable power of the Empire (Hunt, 1997, pp.405 - 424) It is clear what such demographic change could be followed by, since it was connected with the new mental shifts, new social practice, that caused once again the continuation-transition of historical phases and respectively changing of the name of the city.

The third and fourth phases of naming of Jerusalem are conditioned by as follows. A) spreading of new religious ideology - Christianity, which did not cause any significant urban transformations at its very early stage and legitimized the aspect of "holiness" of that city; and b) spreading of new religious indicator, in particular of Roman religion, which was followed then by intensive Romanization and complete changing of the city name.

## Indigenous inhabitants of Jerusalem and International Communications

When modelling of the city within the diachronic system is being commenced, the initial stage is of special significance. This stage is the basic foundation for anthropocentric existence, over which the further periods are being constructed. If the city is ethnically "international", then more or less she maintains that matrix at different stages of development. Notwithstanding changes of political regimes, the city is kept as an "open model". In my opinion, Jerusalem has been an "open model" since the historical period, where we do possess the factual data from. Canaan was found out as to be within political interests of Egyptian Empire from an early time. Since about 1400 BC, Amarna Archives have kept numerous correspondence, authors of which are the governors of Egypt's vassal states, satellite countries and so-called equal and allied states of Egypt. The king of Jerusalem Abdi-hiba was the chieftain of the vassal state.  In his seven letters, he refers to the "lands of Jerusalem". Under his several letters, Abdi-hiba concerns various issues, including some data pertaining to Jerusalem. The letters include information about geographic location and extension of Jerusalem. Abdi-hiba declares Jerusalem as his paternal heirdom, although in the other data he admits that this land was granted him by the King of Egypt. By that postulating, Abdi-Hiba acknowledges the sovereignty of the Egyptian pharaoh and his dependence.

Abdi-hiba, restricted by neighbors, addresses to pharaoh for assistance rendering and requests for the army as well as for the food. Sometimes he calls the land of Jerusalem as the one of pharaoh, which the neighbors are competing for, and that is why he insists on Egyptian garrison to enter the city. He talks about local massive rebellion and social instability. In one of his last letters, Abdi-Hiba notifies pharaoh that the great king (i.e. Pharaoh) lost the land plots in favor of Habiru people. The city that belongs to the land of Jerusalem is named as Bet-Ninib, and she is delivered to the people of Kilti/Qeltu (the Canaanites) (Handcock, 1920). These letters clearly show that Jerusalem is the city-state, under ownership of which there are some territories, including small towns and they are governed by local king. The head of Jerusalem was dispatching gifts to the court of Egyptian king (the gifts included humans too). He was obliged to provide control over the caravan tracks, take safety measures in order to protect the goods and raw material, designated for Egypt while conveying. It is known that traditionally the Egyptian garrison was there in Jerusalem and was enhancing the political positions of local governor.

These letters say nothing about origins of Jerusalem population; some opinion may be expressed though. Apparently, the city was characterized with ethnic diversity, since she was resided by Canaanites, as well as by the Hurrians. The letters by Abdi-Hiba refer to Habiru people too.

Abdi-hiba/heba (from onomastic standpoint) is the name of Hurrian origin and means the "Servant of (H)ebat". (H)ebat is the name of Hurrian goddess. Pursuant to the Egyptian sources, he was the son of local governor, and he was sent to Egypt when he was a child (Redford, 1992, p.270). The number of population of Jerusalem of Abdi-Hiba times, did not exceed 1,500. From modern point of view, the city represented the urban center of modest size and was not distinguished by outstanding buildings (Finkelstein, and Silberman, 2001, p.239).

Jerusalem of Abdi-Hiba times (XIV Century BC) was the pattern of co-existence of various cultures, characterized with multilingual communications, and Akkadian text (on the fragment of clay plate) discovered in Jerusalem, as well as the official letter in Akkadian sent from Jerusalem and found in Amarna Archive, are justification to that (Mazar, Horowitz, Oshima and Goren, 2010, pp.4-21). The first written sample in Akkadian (Wiener 2013,p.11), discovered in Jerusalem is fragmentary and determination of content of the text failed. Its author along with the addressee of that text is not known. It is certain that humans neither use in social practice the languages that are not familiar to their societies, nor create the texts with no functional significance. Akkadian was serving as the diplomatic language – lingua franca of the ancient world and there would not be anyone knowing this language if there had been no requirement for that. The analysis of the text makes it evident that the scribe or the author knows Akkadian fluently and is familiar with the standards of writing culture established in international relations (Wiener 2013,10.) The scholars believe that there was the school of the scribes at the court of king of Jerusalem Abdi-hiba and the author of this text was one of these scribes. The text itself can be the copy of one of the letters by king of Jerusalem, which was sent out to Egypt (Wiener 2013,11).

Jerusalem of Abdi-Hiba period, i.e. of the Late Bronze Age, was already the city-state involved in international diplomatic relations, having active contacts with Egypt. Presence of Egyptian garrison was reflected on local political and social practice. Communication among different ethnic groups was to be conducted by applying of lingua franca. Evidently, bilingual population was quite characteristic for this city.

**One version of self-esteem, Image of Jerusalem Pursuant to Jewish Prophet**

The dialogue between the Lord – Creator of the World and Patriarch Abraham seems like the one conducted between equals. At the same time, the conversation held is full of allusions and signs of prediction. „And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces "(*Gen.* 15:17-21) and Abraham felt presence of God. The promise given by the Lord was the clear outline of political borders within which the descendants of Abraham were to be settled and spread in future. This was the country of future, covering the lands "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates…" including the lands owned by "the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites" (*Gen*. 15:18-21). Jerusalem is not mentioned under the referenced extract by the name; however, the reference is made to the land of the Jebusites, where Jerusalem was located. The Joshua Book (Chapter 10) refers to Jerusalem as the city-state for the first time and it was the period when the city gets integrated in the coalition of Canaanite city-states and confronts the Israelites (King of Jerusalem Adonizedek was punished to death by Joshua; the Book of Joshua mentions it as Yerushalayim - Aramaic Form, Jerushlem cf. *Ezra* 4:8; 20; 24:5:1).  During the reign of David, Jerusalem was still an independent city-state.

When David and his army attacked strong city, they were mocked by Jebusites: - "You will not get in here; even the blind and the lame can ward you off. They thought, "David cannot get in here" (2 *Sam* 5:6). The narrator of the Old Testament briefly summarizes that David captured the fortress of the city, i.e. its important fortification structures and it became the "City of David".

Population of Jerusalem and King David "brought up the ark of the Lord with shouts and the sound of trumpets" (2 *Sam* 6:14-19). Positioning of the ark, laid foundation for the idea of constructing the temple in the city, and that was implemented during the reign of Solomon (1 *Kings* 6:1-38). Following construction of the temple in Jerusalem, Solomon built the palace of the king as well (1 Kings, Chapter 7), and by that Jerusalem became the model of capital city of the ancient Near East. Co-existence of two considerable urban architectural complexes – of the temple and of the palace, was indicating at religious, as well as at political prevailing significance of it. At wealthy palace of Jerusalem, king Solomon was accepting honorable guests from neighboring countries, among whom was Queen of Sheba, who saw the palace, tasted local food and drinks, got familiarized with the residential structures of the noblemen, visited the temple and expressed respect to the God of Israelites (1 *Samuel* 10: 1, 4-5).

Jerusalem as mentioned by prophets of later period carries diverse aspects, envisaging different contexts and circumstances. Isaiah refers to her as to the captivated maiden (*Isaiah* 50), whereas Ezekiel perceives Jerusalem in a comprehensive manner – distinguished by God since the birth – perfect for praising and loving the God, she became obscene and fell into decay. In the eye of God, she is compared with harlot: "You engaged in prostitution with the Egyptians, your neighbors with large genitals, and aroused my anger with your increasing promiscuity... You engaged in prostitution with the Assyrians too, because you were insatiable… Then you increased your promiscuity from the country of Canaan to Chaldea, but even with this you were not satisfied" (*Ezekiel* 16:26, 28-29). The manner how the narrator perceives the contemporary political events is quite unusual. By the term "prostitution", the narrator signifies malleable attitude of Jerusalem to the dominance of the Empire: "All prostitutes receive gifts, but you give gifts to all your lovers, bribing them…so in your prostitution you are the opposite of others; no one runs after you for your factors. You are the very opposite, for you give payment and none is given to you" (*Ezekiel* 16:33-34). The referenced passages show clearly the political situation that was being intricate in the world politics in times of Ezekiel. Why is Jerusalem regarded as a female and concupiscent at the same time?

Integrity of the capital city with femininity is quite archaic in Mesopotamia, since it is connected with the most ancient – Sumerian roots. Jerusalem too is the "ancient" city because of her past. She is passionate like Sumerian-Akkadian Inanna – Ishtar, and that is why the verdict because of her sexual or political past and current experience is so cruel against once beloved city: "I will bring on you the blood vengeance of my wrath and jealous anger… They will bring a mob against you, who will stone you and hack you to pieces

with their swords" (*Ezekiel* 16: 38, 40). The tragic mood full of exposed naturalism, wrath and disgust, echoes the existing political actions of immoral character, but at the same time, the author describes the "unknown" social practice, being within it, not acceptable to God though. God addresses to Jerusalem and cosmopolitan origins of Jerusalem are evident based on God's words: "You are a true daughter of your mother, who despised her husband and her children; and you are a true sister of your sisters, who despised their husbands and their children. Your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite" (*Ezekiel* 16:45). God addresses to Jerusalem again, the city is regarded as a beautiful woman, and her sisters are oppressed Samaria and Sodom, although "You not only followed their ways and copied their detestable practices, but in all your ways you soon became more depraved than they" (*Ezekiel* 16:47).

Ezekiel is well aware of archetypes and mytho-symbolism of ancient Mesopotamian cities and the city of Jerusalem seems to belong to that category. The option of self-esteem by Ezekiel is one view only - negative and critical version of self-esteem.

## Modelling of Physical Appearance of the City Pursuant to Sources

According to the Books of the Old Testament, the city of David was located below the south of the mountain. Later Solomon built the Temple of God over that mountain. The city was fortified by fortification wall, and the basic tower was known as Miloh.30 The names of the other towers are also known, e.g. Tower of the Hundred, Tower of Hananel (*Nehemiah* 3:1), Tower of Ovens (*Nehemiah* 3:11). The fortification walls of the city underwent renovation from time to time (*Nehemiah* 3:34; 4:1).

There are no direct sources related to localization of the Palace, however prophet Jeremiah hints at the jail, being at the court. This is the prison, in which the prophet was imprisoned, when the city was besieged by Babylonians (*Jeremiah* 31:2). The name of the gate that existed on the site of this jail was the Prisoners Gate. The names of other entrances to the city are known as well: the Horse Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:28), the Sheep Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:1, 32), the Fish Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:3), the Jeshanah Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:6), the Valley Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:13), the Dung Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:14) and the Fountain Gate (*Nehemiah* 3:15).

The name of the site where the tradesmen were gathering was the House of the Merchants (*Nehemiah* 3:31). The tomb of David became the holy site of the city and artificial pool and the House of the Heroes were positioned near it (*Nehemiah* 3:16).

## Jerusalem in Roman Times

In the course of the ancient history, Jerusalem kept its continuation in time, in spite of the fact that the Jewish statehood was collapsed and majority of population was exiled to Babylon and the part of them escaped to Egypt. During Persian (538-332 BC) and Hellenistic (332-37 BC) times, as well as under governance of the Seleucids, Jerusalem was the peripheral city, constituting the part of great Empires. In I century BC (63), Jerusalem was conquered by Romans and transformed into the city of the Roman Empire. Prior to appearance of Romans, Jerusalem had been the center of the Jewish Kingdom of Hasmoneans. During that period of time, Jerusalem was the Jewish City and the main part of its population was composed of the Jews, however Strabo (19 AD) declares that she was resided by Nabateans and Idumeans. According to Strabo, Egyptians, Arabs and Phoenicians were residing around Jerusalem and to the North of it. Appearance of Romans significantly changed the demographic background of the city along with the religious views. Jerusalem of Roman times was governed by the king who was assigned by the Roman Senate. Judea was under governance of the king Herod the Great (37-4 BC) along with the Roman ruler. Hence, characterizing cosmopolitanism of the authority was quite evident.

The public revolt of Rome was followed by rise of the new Emperor Claudius, whereupon religious freedom was announced in Jerusalem. During the reign of Herod, the Temple of Jerusalem was renovated once again and gained its magnificent appearance. The Roman Emperor participated in its renovation by allocating respective sums (Grabar and Kedar 2010, pp.49-51). The construction was commenced in 19 BC and took one year and six months. Finalization of the Temple coincided with the inauguration ceremony of the king. The construction was completed thoroughly in the times of the Roman procurator Albinus (62-64 AD). The full description of the Temple in the times of Herod is preserved in the works by Flavius Josephus (Jewish Antiquities) and the rabbinical sources.

According to the sources, the temple consisted of three parts as follows: porch (veranda), temple and the "holy" (sacred) site, which was located in upper section of the temple. It could be reached by means of twelve stairs. The lining of walls of the temple was made out of gold and was shining at sunrise. Corresponding to Flavius, there were positioned four gates on the westward of the temple. Out of one of those gates, there was the path running to the palace of the king (Grabar and Kedar 2010, pp.58-59). During the reign of Herod, there was constructed the Antonia Fortress. The trace of Roman architecture is poorly preserved in Jerusalem and in the process of modelling the monuments; we had to refer mainly to the written sources. The temple of Roman Capitolium was located over the Holy Hill.

Pliny evaluates Jerusalem of Herod times as a brilliant city of the Near East, since she was the significant city not for Judea only (*Plin. Nat. His*. 2:5, 15, 70). During the reign of heirs of Herod, the relations between the Romans and the Jews got strained and aggravated. Titus, son of Emperor Vespasian besieged Jerusalem (70 AD) and conquered her. Titus stayed in the city. He destroyed the holy temple and ordered destruction of the whole city. The only sample of architecture that he saved from destruction was the city wall. The scenes showing successful campaigns conducted by Titus were reflected on the Triumphal Arch of Rome. The Bar-Kokhba revolt dated 132-135, was the cause of further attack by Romans and Jerusalem was found out to be under impact of Emperor

Hadrian's anger. As per the decree released by the Emperor, on the site of Jerusalem was to be built the Roman Colony – Aelia Capitolina. As it was ordered by the Emperor, there was arranged the military camp over the hill, next to which there was the new settlement.  The new forum was located on the hill beyond the walls of the old city. Around the forum there were compiled the main roads of the city, *cardo maximus* and *decumanus* (Roman decamenus is the road running from the east towards the west, and cardo maximus is the main one, running to the north- southward). The main public centers were also located in the vicinity – market, temple and monumental arch.

**Jerusalem, Christian City in Byzantine Times**

Under the reign of Constantine, Jerusalem underwent again changing of its appearance and religious views. In 324-638, Jerusalem, found out to be within the Byzantine Empire, became the Christian city. Constantine was the first Christian Emperor and re-urbanization and reconstruction of the city is associated with his name. The location of the first Christian temple – Basilica was selected as indicated by the mother of the Emperor. Constantine built the temple on the site, where as the tradition says, Christ was buried. The Christian Basilica was repeating the shapes of Roman architecture that were remade, underwent transformation and were adjusted to the new religion (Gates, 2011, pp.408) In the process of constructing the temple, the constructors discovered the stone tomb, which was regarded as the burial ground of Christ and the site of his resurrection. The Rotunda of the round shape (round structure peculiar to Roman architecture) was built around the tomb, and is known under the name of Anastasia Rotonda. This site was declared as to be the sacred one, and access to the Basilica was ensured by passing through the Atrium yard. The Basilica and Rotunda constructed by Constantine were destroyed in 1009 due to the attack of Al-Hakim, Fatimid Caliph. It was 1048 when Emperor Constantine IX renovated the Basilica again. Due to entering of crusaders Jerusalem in 1099, the city underwent significant transformation and modification, and Basilica of Constantine was also changed (Gates 2011, p.408).

**How do Others Evaluate Jerusalem, "Portable Pattern" of the City?**

We have already concerned the phenomenon of transformation of cities in space and time and reviewed it by the example of Rome. It is to be noted that the "image", archetype, or pattern of this city makes such impact on consciousness of further societies, that its characteristics or specific peculiarities are being defined and perceived as the sample of "particularity". Further societies have their own evaluation for that city and the city tradition serves as the trigger of new social experience. Jerusalem is a very good example of that. This chapter reviews how Jerusalem was evaluated by her contemporary societies at transregional level. Assessment of Jerusalem by contemporary societies as of an eternal city is quite comprehensive and one research cannot cover that issue thoroughly. We do consider that one example how the image of Jerusalem was being perceived and evaluated within peripheral space at regional level, is very informative.

In Georgian traditions of the Middle Ages, Jerusalem was "relocated" at mental-imaginary level to Gelati and was referred to as the "Second Jerusalem". In the days of King David, the Builder, virtual relocation of this city and its imaginary shifting was developed and transformed into some sort of historical concept - "Gelati – Another Athena and Second Jerusalem".

King David the Builder established the religious-educational center, Gelati Monastery and the Academy in the vicinity of then capital city of Georgia – Kutaisi. "Some" sort of relocation of Jerusalem ("Second Jerusalem") is deemed within this particular geographical space. Relocation-continuation of Jerusalem, its peculiarity or function within the new space and timeline seems to be more like materialization at mental level rather than continuation of physical and historical processes. One of the unique manifestations of eternity of Jerusalem, as the part of an "imaginary space", is considered to be within Georgian context. Introduction of the "Second Jerusalem" into Georgian reality is supported by the concept demonstrated in Georgian metanarrative (*Life of Kartli. The Life of the King of Kings David,* 1995.) This is the concept developed by the king's chronicle. The king "recalls" (the term "recalls" of the Middle Ages reminds me of the modern word -reminiscence) to construct the monastery. By interference of divine will, he selects the perfect and beautiful site and constructs the temple, which is excessive compared with the previous structures. He fills the space of it with unique religious decorations, sanctities, relics and the luxury items. He brings in the wealth gained as a result of defeating the king of Khosrows and Arabs: precious throne, candle holders, crowns, bowls, etc.

This passage is tempting, since it makes us "remind" Biblical Solomon and the Temple of God, built and decorated by him (along with his palace). We do consider that in these passages, the author compares the Georgian King David with the King of Jerusalem Solomon, who builds the temple of God. Prior to commencement of construction of the temple, Solomon writes the letter to the King of Tyre, requests for assistance to be rendered by him in construction and says: "I intend, therefore, to build a temple for the Name of the Lord my God…" (1 Kings 5:5). Following that request, the skillful artisans of Tyre left their city for Jerusalem. The Georgian King David gathered people around him not from his kingdom only, but from all parts of the world and established them under that space (*The Life of the King of Kings David, Life of Kartli*,1995, p. 330, lines 11,12,13.)

The referenced passage shows that the king attempts to resemble the cosmopolitan nature of Jerusalem and that is why he brings the foreigners prominent for their high moral into the heart of new Jerusalem for rendering services.  The king allocated for them the livelihood - "Estate - Lipariteti" to hold a main source of economic income. The king turned that site into the settlement of urban type, and agglomerate of intellectuals:

"That which now forelies the entire East (Middle East E.A.) as the Second Jerusalem, for the study all goodness, for the tutorship in knowledge (for teaching knowledge), another Athens, as a highly superior with its divide internal regulations, as the Deacon of whole churches' beauty. And the name of this is Gelati" (*The Life of the King of Kings David, Life of Kartli,* 1995 p. 330, lines 18, 19; p. 331, lines 1,2,3).

"Transformation" of Gelati into Jerusalem occurs in XII century, in particular in 1106-1110. In Georgian mental pattern, this stage is to be directly connected with evaluation of Jerusalem, linked with consideration of its functional mission, or re-evaluation of its importance for Georgia. The historical background for introduction of this concept causes high interest. Chronologically this period is associated with difficult times of Jerusalem, particularly with the time when Jerusalem was conquered by Seljuk Muslims, and then it is linked with the Crusading Wars since 1096 for her liberation and then with internal political discords. The Cursaders period in the history of Jerusalem starts from 1099 (Hiyari, 1989, pp.130-177;) Jerusalem is proclaimed as the city-state and is named as the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187, first stage). In 1887 the city was overrun by Sultan Saladin. The third Crusader war began in 1189 (Edbury1991, pp. 4-5.) followed and finalized then by restoring of the Kingdom in 1192, capital city of which becomes Acre not Jerusalem. This is the time when Jerusalem proceeds with being under the rule of Saladin. These difficult historical events resulted in city distruction in 1291. As a consequence, the Crusader rule in Jerusalem lasted for 90 years only and this period exactly coincides with the idea of replacement of Jerusalem by Gelati. David's historian evaluates emergence of Crusaders and liberation of Jerusalem by them positively, and presumes that Georgia can be strengthened due to the current processes of Jerusalem:

"…At that time, the Franks came out and captured Jerusalem and Antioch. With the help of God, the land of Kartli recovered; David grew strong and increased the number of his troops" (*The Life of the King of Kings David*, p. 325, line 20).

The new appraisal of Jerusalem by David IV should coincide with 1099-1110 AD; Obviously, by that time Jerusalem was under the political control of Latins – the "others", the political and religious leader Godfrey of Bouillon (Porter, 2013, p.18) was elected to the governance of Jerusalem. Godfrey was the knight of French origin and a defender of Christ's grave (assigned by Catholic Church). After Godfrey's death in 1100, Baldwin, his brother became the king of Jerusalem (Baldwin I of Jerusalem) and accepted the title of the "king" (Tyerman 2006, pp.201–202). Due to political dominance of "others" over Jerusalem between 1099-1110, "physical possession" of Jerusalem would be impossible for Georgians. It would be impossible as well to claim for inheritance over the city as of the center of Christianity (because of actual claimant and possession). Though, the theoretical key question arises there: whether it was achievable to bring its spirituality, faith, kindness and divine virtues to Gelati? None of political opponents could oppose that and abstracted "kindness, goodness and learning" was reasonably being "preserved" in the East. Furthermore, I would like to share one opinion with the readers. David's Historian does not express any disrelish towards the European Crusaders, however some despondency that Jerusalem cannot be possessed by Georgians still can be read between the lines. Somehow there is being determined the mental opposition of oriental world against the European one. David belongs to the Oriental Christian world, and his country, which is the "the foremost edge of the entire East", has more tradition, geographical and spatial approximation with Jerusalem rather than with the European kings, - who had been the claimants for Jerusalem since the times of Charles the Great (I) (774-814) - monarch of Franks and united Western Europe.

The historical concept of "the Second Jerusalem" enters Georgian metanarrative by David's historian. Thus, what could be the cause for the claim of David pertaining to Altera Jerusalem and relocation of such modest function of Jerusalem to Kutaisi? Portability of Jerusalem into Gelati was supported by the tradition of the Middle Ages, either direct or indirect connection of the Bagrations with Jerusalem and her King David. Thus, the concept developed by David was not deprived of reasonable ambitious. We are not aware specifically of how significant Jerusalem was for Georgia of the Middle Ages and for David himself (Jerusalem is characterized with numerous aspects, however David introduces only some of them to Gelati), although it is evident that Jerusalem served as the trigger for modernization – with consideration of establishment of the Academy and the Monastery of Gelati.

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Throughout the world history there can be rarely found the city to cover various people, nations, cultures, languages and religions in the heart of her and for a period of her long time history, and to share also her space and time with anyone and anything within her, and emerge the desire in others for serving her. Simultaneously she emerges the will in people to possess and construct her. The "Christian Period" of Jerusalem is associated with emergence of new people in the referenced integrated, permanent and proceeding scenario, composed of mental shifts and social practice.

This is the peculiar time in the history of the city transformation. Construction of "New Jerusalem", her physical development, decoration with Christian symbols and changing of her appearance commenced in the time of Constantine the Great (Eusebius,

1975, iv. 45. 3). The clerics, including Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, were actively involved in that process (Hunt1997, p.411) Jerusalem became the city of Christianity. Since that time the "Christian phase" has been continuous and passed through parallel trajectories along with the phases of Judaism and then of Islam.

Under the reign of Constantine, the physical appearance of the city undergoes alteration. The Emperor combats particularly the Roman "phase", and the pagan temples of Hadrian times, arranged over the forum, undergo destruction. However, the grave of Christ does emerge and the columns are being built to protect the grave (Coüasnon, 1974, p. 21). To the south of the grave, alongside the yard, there is being built the gilded basilica (Hunt 1997, p.413.) The holy grave of Jesus arranged on the mount of olive – the Golgotha, "intervenes" into the space of worshipping of Goddess Venus-Aphrodite-Astarte and "drives" that Goddess out of the space (Kretschmar1987, p.56) The Christian Emperor and his mother declared war against paganism.   Church historian Eusebius connects construction of Churches in Bethlem and over the Mount of Holy Olive with the name of the mother of Emperor – Helena. By the effort of the household of the Emperor, the churches are being constructed in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Holy Mount (Hunt 1997, 417)

During the times of Crusaders, the grave of the first human being Adam was discovered on that Mount of Golgotha, over which Jesus was crucified. The tradition says that Jesus blood flushed the skull of Adam and presumably all sins of mankind since Adam were forgiven symbolically.

The city of Jerusalem is not only eternal and cosmopolitan one, since she manifests the very rare peculiarity, she is "celestial" though. The eternal, cosmopolitan and celestial Jerusalem is really the city of dream for all of us, and as Paul the Apostle says: - "But the Jerusalem that is above is free, and she is our mother" (*Galatians* 4:26).

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